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ART. XXV.—*Narrative of Gaikwár Affairs; from the unpublished MSS. of the late JONATHAN DUNCAN, Esq., Governor of Bombay, &c., &c., &c.*

#### INTRODUCTION.

THE Society is indebted to Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., for the following interesting Narrative. It has been selected from a voluminous collection of the MSS. of the late Governor Duncan, which have been kindly entrusted to the care and inspection of the Editor, and of which a great portion, will, he trusts, from time to time, appear in this Journal. Some additional interest may perhaps attach to this narrative, from its correspondence with what has lately appeared relative to the Gaikwár affairs in the able and valuable "Dispatches of the Marquess Wellesley," compiled by Mr. Montgomery Martin.

II. H.

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PILLAJÍ GAIKWÁR, the great warrior, a khidmatgar or menial servant of Umabái, the widow of Dabaria Sena Patti, was the first who came to Gujarat, and conquered the country since possessed by the Peishwa and Gaikwár. Pillají had two sons and several brothers; previous to his death he divided his conquests amongst his family, allowing to such of his brothers as were living at the time of his death, A. D. 1747, the districts of Dhar, Sankira, Badurpúr or Bhaderpúr, with their respective districts, whilst on his eldest son, Damají Rao, he bestowed the government of Gujarat (*i. e.*, of Ahmedabad) and of several districts known by the name of the Gaikwár Tallúk; and to his second son, Kanda Rao Gaikwár, he gave nine Parganahs, named Nariad, Khurry, Kaperwange, Deogaung, Balladge, Dolka, Challah, Mondel and Matter; which partition of country it seems was confirmed by the Peishwa, and also by the Rájá of Satara, who distinguished the sons by conferring on Damají Rao Gaikwár the title of Senakhass Kheyl Shamsheer Bahádur, and on Kanda Rao Gaikwár, that of Hemmut Bahádur.

These two brothers enjoyed their respective shares of their late father's conquest quietly and peaceably and like two good friends.

Some time after the above settlement, Damají Rao was obliged to go to Puna, and for reasons which cannot be ascertained, was under the necessity of entering into some arrangements with the

Peishwa, by which he became bound to afford the government of Puna a permanent assistance of a certain number of troops, or to pay to that government the sum of fifteen laks of rupees every year.

On this occasion Damaji Gaikwár (who respected his brother Kanda Rao, as they always lived upon terms of the most intimate friendship with each other) proposed to Kanda Rao, that he should contribute something towards defraying that heavy tribute, which he very generously agreed to do; but instead of taking upon him to furnish his share of the troops, or money, he very readily ceded to his brother four of the above nine Parganahs, namely, Mondch, Matter; Balladge and Dolka, and kept five for himself, namely, Nariad, Khurri, Kaperwange, Deogaung, and Challah, which is a district included in Deogaung, and was quite satisfied with these uncumbered districts as his share of his father's conquest.

Kanda Rao was first married to Sunderbái, the daughter of Ponwar, the Patel of Nasick, by whom he had three daughters and one son; the latter and one of the former died soon after they were born, and the mother shortly afterwards. He was then married the second time to Rajasbái, the daughter of Moriah, by whom he had three sons (of whom Malhar is one) and three daughters, but they all except Malhar Rao and one daughter died; Kanda Rao died in 1785.

Malhar Rao was first married to the daughter of Jagade Rao Ponwar, of Nasick, who died without issue; he was afterwards married to Emnabái, the daughter of the Patel of Eulah, called Ranchandra Naik, by whom he had a son, the present Kanda Rao Gaikwár, who was born in the year 1784.

A few months after he was born, some quarrels happened between his mother and his father Malhar Rao, which by degrees rose to such a pitch that they could no longer agree together. Malhar Rao had at this time changed his conduct and mode of living, and thought of nothing but exercising his cruel disposition and intriguing pursuits. Kanda Rao and his mother were both neglected, and thrown into a room without being permitted to go out, and were allowed no more provision and clothes than what was necessary to keep them alive and to cover their nakedness.

While Kanda Rao and his mother (who lived about twelve years after he was born) were in this disagreeable situation, being close prisoners, and suffering the want of almost every necessary and comfort of life, an aunt of his, the sister of Malhar Rao, called Tackabái, and a natural son of his grandfather, Kanda Rao, called

Christnájí Rao, otherwise Apah, and Hus nbnháí Borah, contributed towards his and his mother's comfort by supplying them amply (unknown to Malhar Rao) with every necessary of life.

Manájí Rao, when on the masnad of Baroda, hearing of the ill-treatment which Malhar Rao inflicted on the young Gaikwár and his mother, frequently wrote to his cousin Malhar Rao, reprehending him and exhorting him to take care of them, but he paid no attention; on the contrary, following the advice of the women about him, and Pana Bacha (his Devan), and Becher Jatí, he even treated them worse; these two men and the women round him having made him believe that his son Kanda Rao was an unfortunate youth, as having been born at a very unlucky moment, and that as long as he existed, Malhar Rao would never be successful in any of his enterprises.

Manájí Rao having left Baroda to go to the Játrá, or religious resort of Bechrají, halted on his way at Khurru. Malhar Rao, on receiving intelligence of his coming that way, went to Kalol to meet him, and brought him into the fort of Khurru, leaving all his baggage and troops in tents which had been previously pitched opposite to one of the gates of the fort called the Hanmont Gate; he remained at Malhar Rao's house twenty-four hours; great attention was paid to him, not only by Malhar Rao and the whole family, but by all the inhabitants of the place, and Malhar Rao gave an elegant entertainment on the occasion.

During this visit Manájí, much against the will of Malhar Rao, had Kanda Rao always with him, and not only reprehended Malhar Rao for treating him and his mother so very ill, but insisted upon carrying them with him, which Malhar Rao could not positively refuse, but yet did under some plea or other decline, promising, however, that they should be ready to go with him when he returned from the Játrá.

Unfortunately for Kanda Rao, his uncle, instead of going back to Baroda by the way of Khurru, took on account of some business which occurred just at that time a different route; but Manájí Rao, after his arrival at Baroda, did not forget his nephew Kanda Rao nor his mother, and often wrote to Malhar Rao to send them, and it was not till he stated that he was ill and wished to see the young man, as he had with him nobody of the family who had a right to be in charge of the masnad, that Malhar Rao began to make the necessary preparations to send him; but while these were making, accounts arrived of Manájí's death, which put a complete stop to Kanda Rao's being sent to Baroda.

At this time Govind Rao Gaikwár, with his sons Anand Rao and Kanojí Rao, were at Punah, and nobody but Sijái Mahárájá, in whose name Fatteh Sing Rao and Manají carried on the administration of the country, was at Baroda; he was a madman, and though entitled to the masnad, was unfit to manage it or the government.

The mother of Manají, called Gungabái, was no sooner aware that her son Manají was dead, than she dispatched an express to Kanojí at Punah, acquainting him with the death of her son Manají, telling him there was nobody at Baroda, and requesting he would set out on receipt of the express, and come there to take charge of the masnad; and Sijái wrote to the same effect to his brother Govind Rao, but his despatch did not reach Punah till two days after Kanojí had left the place.

Kanojí, who had gone out riding, saw on his return home a harkára coming in great haste; he stopped and desired his peons to ask where that harkára came from, and finding he was from Gujarat, he sent for him, and asked who he was, and where he was going; the harkára said he was from Gujarat, and was going to Punah in charge of some letters for the merchants and shroffs at that place. Kanojí was not satisfied with this answer; he commanded all the letters to be examined, and as the man did not appear to him like a common harkára, he resolved to find out who he was and who had despatched him, and from what place in Gujarat he came; and the man still refusing to declare, this increased his suspicion; he commanded the man to be seized and the stick he had to be broken, and in the hollow part of the stick he found a letter addressed to himself, containing the advice of Manají's death, and his mother's solicitation for his coming down without loss of time.

He then took the harkára with him, and proceeded quietly to his tents, and made one of his people carry all the letters to town and deliver them according to their different addresses; and without giving any reason he divided a quantity of sugar, betel, and betel-leaves amongst all his people, and went to his father's tent, where he was sitting with Raoba; after the usual compliments he was asked to sit down, which he did, and soon after he told his father that he was come to request his permission to go to Gujarat for a few days, to which both he and Raoba objected, and told him they expected shortly to return to Gujarat, and that he should go with them; Kanojí did not like this; he insisted upon his father's indulging him with his permission, but finding him averse to his sudden wish of returning to Gujarat, got up, made his salam as

usual, and said whether he was allowed or not he would go ; saying so, he returned to his tents.

All the night was consumed in concerting a plan for his leaving Punah, and at gunfire in the morning, leaving his tents standing, with all his servants, furniture, and other necessities upon the ground, he took two of his most confidential servants and the best horse he had, left Punah and came to Dawry, where his mother was, and taking from her a rich and valuable chain, called bar, and selling it there for as much as he could get, he purchased two horses, and leaving that place came direct to Darampúr, where his uncle, the rājá of that place, gave him some money, a págá, and some people, and despatched him to Songhur. No sooner had he entered the Surat Attavisse, than the people of the several districts joined and accompanied him to Broach, where he was received and handsomely entertained by Lallubái, who gave him his págá, elephants, and some of the Arabs in Scindiah's service, and sent him to Meya Gaung, where the mother of Manají and Síají Mahá-rājá had sent all the Gaikwár force, with almost all the principal officers of that government, to meet and conduct him to Baroda.

He was conducted to a large house of his own upon the banks of the Sirsagar Tank, where he remained one day ; on the following day he was sent for by Síají Mahá-rājá, who, as soon as the usual ceremony of the visit was over, placed Kanojí on the masnad of Baroda, and gave him the administration of the government, by delivering to him the sica and katar, the seal of government and sword of the state.

Govind Rao received his despatch two or three days after the departure of Kanojí, and became thereon very uneasy ; upon which he went to the Darbar of Punah, and represented the death of Manají, the madness of Síají, and Kanojí's departure for Gujarat, as also the necessity of his presence there.

Finding, however, the Darbar hesitated in allowing him to go down, he prevailed upon Mahdojí Scindiah, who was at Punah at that time, to interfere between him and the Darbar, and to obtain permission for him to return to Gujarat, and take possession of his country and its government.

Mahdojí Scindiah agreed to render his friend Gaikwár this service, but on express condition that he should give him three laks of rupees, and marry his son Anand Rao to his daughter. Govind Rao had no alternative but to agree to these proposals ; as there was no other channel through which he could get the difference then existing between him and the Punah Darbar settled, nor the

Peishwa's permission to assume the masnad and government of Baroda; though he did not mean to comply with the latter, indeed he could not, for Mahdojī Scindiah, though a great man, was of an inferior caste.

Mahdojī Scindiah interfered and settled all the differences on as favourable terms for his friend Govind Rao as it was possible, and obtained the Peishwa's permission for him to leave the country, and to resume the masnad and government of Baroda on his arrival there, and also prevailed upon that court to despatch him with every honour due to his person and rank.

Govind Rao accordingly left Punah in great triumph, and came to Dawry, where Mahdojī Scindiah insisted upon the three laks of rupees being paid to him, and the marriage ceremonies as agreed upon being performed. Govind Rao had not at that time the means of complying with the former, but he resisted the latter, saying that his daughter was not of the same caste, but that on his arrival at Baroda he would consult the family, and determine finally on that point. Mahdojī Scindiah immediately suspected his intention, and prevailed upon the court of Punah to prevent his leaving Dawry until he paid his three laks of rupees, and the first instalment of his agreement with the Darbar; Govind Rao was accordingly stopped there a long time.

Govind Rao had no resources at this time, and did not know where the money could come from; however, he knew that Kanojī was upon the masnad of Baroda, and was determined to try whether he would do any thing for him.

He accordingly wrote to Kanojī explaining the situation he was in, and requesting he would assist him with tents and other necessaries to enable him to come down and enter Gujarat with credit; and also with cash to meet Mahdojī Scindiah and the Peishwa's demands, and saying that unless they were satisfied, he could not descend the Ghauts nor come to Baroda.

Kanojī on receipt of this letter began preparing the tents and other necessaries, as also some troops, cattle, elephants, camels, &c., and such money as he could at that time command; and having demanded of Sīājī Mahārājā his assistance to complete the sum he wanted to remit to his father, he refused, saying that he had put him upon the masnad, and that if money was wanted, he might open a loan and borrow from the merchants; that he would not consent to his touching the jamdar khana, or treasury.

After this refusal a quarrel ensued between Kanojī and Sīājī Mahārājā, and they turned their guns and troops upon one another,

and began firing; this continued for a week, when some respectable merchants and officers of government interfered and settled the quarrel.

Kanojí, however, got a considerable sum of money, some say fifteen lacs, others say twenty, whether from the jamdar khana or from the shroffs was not known, but he certainly sent his father a vast number of tents and supplies of camels, bullocks, elephants, and people, and a very large sum of money under a strong escort. Govind Rao was rejoiced at that necessary and timely supply, and on receipt thereof he paid the Peishwa's and Mahdójí Scindiah's demands, and leaving Dawry, came to Songhur, where he was joined by all his people, and came to Gujara accompanied by them all, and went direct to Mastú Bagh, and wished to make his entry into the fort; but Kanojí sent to request he would stay where he was until he came to conduct him into the fort; these events took place February, 1794.

Kanojí keeping in the fort for his guard two thousand Arabs and six hundred Patan horse, sent all the rest of the Gaikwár's force, horse and foot, to attend his father and to be under his order at Mastú Bagh.

About ten days afterwards Kanojí, without previously acquainting his father with his intention of paying him a visit, went to Mastú Bagh, accompanied by four hundred of his choice Arabs, and presented himself to his father, and surrendering him his sword and target, sat down about a quarter of an hour, and asked his permission to go and pay his respects to his mother; he went accordingly to the zanána, but instead of returning after seeing her, he went directly to the fort; this created some suspicion in the mind of the father, which was increased by the intriguing people round him.

Govind Rao, knowing that Kanojí was not to be depended upon, and suspecting that he might play some of his tricks against him, began soliciting and securing the interest of all the troops he had out with him at Mastú Bagh, and particularly the Arab jamedars and other officers commanding the several detachments of horse and foot, and by dint of bribes and promises brought the whole of them over to his interest, so that Kanojí remained only with his body-guard, consisting of about four hundred Arabs, the jamedar of which was bribed, and confederated with the rest in favour of Govind Rao.

Every thing being thus arranged or seizing Kanojí, Govind Rao, four days after the visit which Kanojí paid him, entered the fort, went to the palace, called the Badur, and resumed the masnad of Baroda. Kanojí was at this time in Fattch Sing's large house in



town; his own body-guard confined him in that house, and he was afterwards by his father's order placed in the upper story of the house under a very strong guard; every communication was prevented, and nobody except the servant who attended him was allowed to have access to him.

Kanojí being thus imprisoned, Govind Rao took possession of the masnad, and commenced his government; he was fond of Kanojí, but, although very intelligent, and a prince possessing both understanding and resolution, he was, by the continual insinuations of the people around him, made doubtful of his son's attachment, and suspicious of his fidelity; although his recent behaviour in supplying him so amply with the means of satisfying Scindiah and the Peishwa, and of thereby coming to Gujarat, had pleased him much, he still suspected him, and the ministers, whose interest it was that the father and son should not be on good terms, took care to poison his mind against Kanojí. They were aided in this by the intrigues of the women, particularly of the widows of Fattah Sing and Manojí, who on their congratulatory visits to Govind Rao while in Mastú Bagh, had said all they could to prejudice him against Kanojí, because he had not only curtailed their allowances, but taken some of the money (to which they had no right) to complete his remittance to Punah, and to pay the troops, who were greatly in arrears.

This, together with his own doubts as to the sincerity of Kanojí's attachment to him, made him seize and keep him as a state prisoner in the manner above stated.

A month had scarcely elapsed when Kanojí found means to get some women's clothes, and putting them on, got down by the back door, and went out of the fort by the Larepore gate to the house of a fakír called Shah Vazass, whence he sent to tell Nana Raut to send him one of the best horses in his father's stable, with which he readily complied. No sooner had he got the horse than he left the fakír's house, and directed his course towards Sankera Bahádurpúr, halting on his route at a place called Padraah Bomareah, a Movass village, where he assembled as many Bhíls and Collics as he could, and began annoying the parganah of Sankera Bahádurpúr, till Gunput Rao, tired of his losses under the constant depredations committed by Kanojí and the Bhíls he had entertained, wrote to Govind Rao, acquainting him with the circumstance, and requesting he would settle the difference between him and his son Kanojí, and carry him to Baroda. Govind Rao, on receiving this intelligence, detached Sidi Omer, a chella of the late Manojí, and Harry-

bhái, one of the Gaikwárs commanding a *o'zá*, with a small force to apprehend him; they met at the place cailed Padreah Bomareah, and Kanojí engaged them, but was unfortunately for him defeated, and obliged to fly to the thickest parts of the hills of Sat Patti, inhabited by the Bhíls and Collies. Govind Rao's force followed him a little way in hopes of coming up with him, but returned to Baroda unsuccessful.

While on the hills of Sat Patti, without the means of existing or satisfying his followers, he met a Banian who had come from the Dekkan with a large assortment of piece-goods by that route, and was going to Baroda; from this Banian he purchased a lak of rupees' worth of piece-goods, and divided the greatest part thereof amongst his followers, and applied the rest to his own use. As soon as the time agreed on for payment was expired, the Banian began importuning him for his money; he always put him off from time to time, till the Banian was quite tired, and spoke to him in a manner rather disagreeable, upon which he told him in plain terms that he could not pay him, not having command of money, that he should either wait till he got some from some plunder or other, or take a bill on his father Govind Rao, and run the risk of its being paid or not; the poor Banian hesitated a long time, till at last he preferred a bill upon Govind Rao Gaikwár, having no alternative.

The poor Banian accordingly took the bill and came to Baroda, where he presented it to Govind Rao, who refused to accept it; this, however, was no disappointment to him, as it was an event which he expected; he went with this bill to all the principal bankers in the place, and particularly Mungul Sakidass, or Mungul Parik, who was in Govind Rao's confidence, and acting as his confidential dewan, while Raoba was that of government. These people advised the poor Banian not to discount the bill as he intended, but to hold it, and that they would endeavour to get him his money.

These Banians being all men of wealth and influence, and both Govind Rao and Raoba depending on them for the supplies of cash for the exigences of the state, they repeatedly addressed both Govind Rao Gaikwár and Raoba, concerning this bill, and showed the necessity of discharging it. The bill was some short time afterwards discharged, and the man went to his country quite satisfied, although with the loss of interest for near twelve months.

The moment Kanojí heard of his bill being paid, he descended the hills of Sat Patti, and came to Dakur, annoying and plundering the country, and levying troops as he went along; he reached

Pittapur by the way of Lonawarah, and went thence to Khurri; at this time he had about two thousand Arabs with him, besides other followers. He stopped at some distance and acquainted Malhar Rao with his arrival, who instantly sent people to invite him into the fort. Kanoji knew his relation too well to trust himself in the fort without a baindery, or security. Bowanbhai, Malhar Rao's brother, was given as a security, who pledged himself for his safety in case of any disagreement between him and Malhar Rao. Kanoji accordingly was conducted into the fort, and lived at Malhar Rao's house. His troops were left out of the fort at a distance of two miles. Malhar Rao, apprehensive of some force from Baroda coming against him, entertained Kanoji and all his force in his service; having at this time a small body of horse and foot, and some sibandy Sepoys.

Govind Rao, as soon as he came from Punah, and resumed the masnad of Baroda, wrote to Malhar Rao, complaining of his not having come to meet him on the road according to custom, and inviting him to Baroda. Malhar Rao declined the invitation, suspecting, and with just reason, that Govind Rao would call him to account for attempting to marry his daughter, by a Gujarat girl, to Balker of Lony, a man of high rank, and of the same family and country as the Gaikwars, and also for the arrears of Peishkush, which Fattch Sing had unjustly established, and exacted, and which he had not paid since his death, nor was it demanded by Manaji. He did not choose to pay it to Govind Rao Gaikwar, because his father Kanda Rao was ruined by Fattch Sing, who drove him out of Nariad, and established this Peishkush, or tribute, for no other reason than because Kanda Rao gave Govind Rao every aid and assistance in his power to fight Fattch Sing, and afterwards sheltered him at Nariad, and went with him to Ahmedabad.

The cause of Fattch Sing driving Kanda Rao from Nariad, and establishing the Peishkush payable from Khurri every year, was that when Govind Rao came from Punah with troops that he had levied on his way down the Ghauts at Songhur, and in Surat Attavissi, with the view of dispossessing Fattch Sing of the masnad and government of Baroda, Kanda Rao aided and assisted him in his project, not only with large loans of cash, but with seven or eight thousand troops, horse and foot; he also went himself to conduct his nephew Govind Rao, and on the first attack defeated Fattch Sing, who was obliged to retreat and shut himself in the fort of Baroda till he had levied troops enough to attack them both; in the first attack he was so successful as to disperse them

and all their troops; Govind Rao and Kanda Rao deserted the field and went to Nariad, and thence to Ahmedabad, where Kanda Rao supported Govind Rao at his own expense, till the Peishwa's troops came in search of Ragonath Rao, when Govind Rao found his way back to Punah. Kanda Rao remained at Ahmedabad till the matter between him and his nephew Fattah Sing was settled; he then returned to Nariad, and there he remained quiet.

Fattah Sing, who could not forgive Kanda Rao for his behaviour in favour of Govind Rao, soon drove him out of Nariad, sent him to Khurru, and as a fine, established and exacted from him the Peishkush, which Malhar Rao did not pay to Manaji, nor was it demanded during his government. Malhar Rao was in great hopes, that when Govind Rao came to the masnad of Baroda, he would not only return Nariad, remit the Peishkush, and pay the expense which Kanda Rao had been at in aiding and assisting his cause, but that he would give him some remuneration for his attachment and friendship; but he was disappointed; for instead of doing all this, he retained Nariad and insisted on the payment of the Peishkush, and many other things in which he ought not to have interfered.

This and many other circumstances hereafter detailed was the cause of Malhar Rao resisting the payment of the Peishkush, and going to war with Govind Rao the first time, and if Ismael Beg had joined him he would have certainly taken the whole country, and Baroda also, as was his intention.

While they were corresponding on these and other subjects, Govind Rao Gaikwár received intelligence of the arrival of Bapker, the intended son-in-law of Malhar Rao, at Jambusir, upon which he (Govind Rao Gaikwár) sent several detachments of his troops under the command of their respective officers, namely, Sidi Omer (the chellah of the late Manaji Rao), Amin Saib, Sevaram Gardy, and Naran Rao Paudriah, with orders to proceed in several directions (as they could enter the Peishwa's district), and that when Bapker left the place to cross the Myhe, to attack, plunder him, and to put him to death if he resisted. Bapker fortunately received this intelligence in time to make his escape to Surat, from which place he wrote to Malhar Rao, who recommended his coming by water to Baunagur, where he would have a strong party to escort him to Khurru by Limri, which was accordingly done, and Bapker joined his intended father-in-law safe at Khurru.

This raised Malhar Rao's anger and his suspicion of Govind Rao Gaikwár's intention; he became apprehensive that he would certainly

call him to account for giving shelter to Kanojí, for acting as he did with respect to Bapker, and declining the payment of the Peishkush; he accordingly determined to oppose any force which he might send against his fort, and for this purpose he wrote to Neyeff Khan, and Ismael Beg, at Joudpúr, to come to his assistance with about twenty thousand Patans, saying that he would pay them handsomely, and he also gave Kanojí instructions to augment his force, and he himself began to enrol Arabs, Scindians, Patans, Pardessís, &c., and made between him and Kanojí upwards of ten thousand horse and foot of the best that could be got, and prepared to give any force which Govind Rao Gaikwár might send, a warm reception.

Govind Rao Gaikwár hearing all this, wrote him, in express terms, to suspend the marriage of his daughter with Bapker, to seize and deliver up Kanojí, and pay the arrears of the Peishkush; and that if he did not comply with all this, and did not give good and sufficient reason for levying new troops, that he would send a force to raze Khurri from its foundations, and seize him and all his associates.

Malhar Rao received this letter, and after considering his cousin's demands, wrote to him for answer, that he would do neither, and that he might send his force to reduce Khurri whenever he liked, as he was ready to receive them and prevent any mischief they could do.

No sooner had this letter been sent, than Malhar Rao began to levy more troops, and to put them in a perfect state for meeting and opposing the troops of his cousin when they should come, and made every preparation he could for a vigorous defence.

Govind Rao Gaikwár, on receipt of such an unexpected answer, desired Raoba to send a strong force to reduce Khurri and seize Malhar Rao and Kanojí.

The troops were accordingly got ready; Múkimd Rao was appointed commander in chief, Govind Punt Mama, to the office of Sar Nobat, or Faujdar and sent with them Mír Gossan, Mír Khumaluden Khan, Sevarren Gardy, Amin Saib, Karan Raw, and Jagadi Rao Pandrah, Garguah, Gorforch, Nombalkar, Abúd Mana, and several other Arab jaméedars, with their respective detachments of horse and foot; with Huzúr, and all other Págás, amounting altogether to near twenty-five or thirty thousand troops, including the force from Gujarat.

This force took a long time in preparing. However, they left Baroda in several small detachments, and went to Ahmedabad, by

the way of Nariad, and, after crossing the Saber, they stopped at a place called Kalli Kotte, and there they remained some time till all the detachments had joined, and then they commenced their march towards Khurru; as they went on, they razed the Thana, or Chowkey of every village they came to, till they came to Kalol; the Tandar, or officer of the chowkey at that place, made his escape, and went to Malhar Rao, to whom he reported the approach of Govind Punt Mama's force.

Malhar Rao, at this time, was at Adulhage with the best of his troops, in hopes of intercepting Govind Rao's force, having been told that Govind Punt Mama intended to take that route from Kalli Kotte; but on receiving intelligence of their having gone the other way, and reached Kalol, he left Adulhage, and by forced marches, went to Khurru, and there remained quiet till Govind Rao's force advanced to a place called Kand, about two miles from the fort, when Malhar Rao, Kanoji, with the best of his horse and foot, and all the Arabs, commanded by Sultan Jaffer and his brother Bader, made a desperate attack, in which Govind Rao's force was defeated, and obliged to retire to Kalol; from whence, after three or four days' rest, he marched in the other direction round the fort, and came to a place called Kúndal; he there took post in a valley, and on the following day marched towards the fort, with the view of attacking it, when Sultan Jaffer, Bader, his brother, and several other Arab Jamedars, with Kanoji, Hanmont Dewrao, Treimbuck Rao, Namo Pindara, Sheikh Abúd, the Jamedar of Pattan, with all the Scindians, Purbias and Pardesses got out of the fort, and made another desperate attack which lasted till the afternoon; in this grand attack Govind Rao's force was again defeated, and Mír Gossain with great difficulty could save his guns. In this action Kanoji, who had the arrangement of it, gained great credit; he himself fought like a brave man, and conducted the whole action in such a masterly manner, that the number of killed and wounded of Malhar Rao's army was about two hundred and odd, whilst that of Govind Rao's army was upwards of four hundred, besides horses, bullocks, camels, and one elephant, and managed to close the action by taking the Baroda Zarí Patká, the standard of government.

Mír Gossain, disappointed at this ill success of Govind Rao Gaikwár's force, proposed to Govind Punt Mama, that they should both go round the fort, to take a view of all the ground, and choose a convenient spot for erecting their batteries, and attacking the fort at once. This was agreed upon, and on the third day of the second action, they accordingly went round, and picked upon a large sandy

hill, which commanded the fort. This hill was between two villages, one called Ardasser, and the other Azandrú, quite close to the fort. He prevailed upon Govind Punt Mama to move the whole army to that place, which was perfectly sheltered from the guns of the fort, and promised to reduce it in four days, if he gave him people and assistance to place his eight guns on the top of the hill, which was readily complied with. The troops left Kándal, and came to Ardasser; every thing that Mír Gossain asked was duly given him, and the guns were accordingly placed on the top of the hill. No sooner had this been done, than Gossain opened his battery, threw several shots into the fort, and dismounted one of the guns, from Malhar Rao's battery called Merah Ghur, which played upon the village of Ardasser, though with little effect. Malhar Rao was frightened at this; he thought he should not be able to defend much longer his favourite fort of Khurry, and was determined to push with all his force, and attack that of Govind Rao Gaikwár at the village of Ardasser, when a French officer, whom he had in his service, told him to order two great guns to be placed on the top of another high hill, immediately at the back of the hills where Gossain was with his guns, and to keep all his horses in readiness to charge in different directions the moment Gossain's fire ceased. Orders were accordingly given, but Malhar Rao was so confused, that notwithstanding the French officer's advice, he went to the battery, got the gun-carriage repaired, remounted the gun that was dismounted, and kept firing merely to show he kept up a constant fire. The French officer, who was called Monsieur John, went upon the hill, opened his battery of two guns upon Gossain, and directed his fire with such judgment and success, that Gossain was soon obliged to cease firing; the moment that was perceived in Malhar Rao's camp, the horses advanced in different directions, the foot followed, and under Kanojí's direction they charged, and attacked Govind Rao's army with such success, that it was completely defeated, and obliged to retire to the other side of the same village, leaving their tents, baggage, &c., upon the ground, the greatest part of which, and the guns, were carried off by a party which had returned in time to save them, but it cost them the loss of many lives, and among them those of their very respectable sardars, Karan Rao and Jagadi Rao Pandrah. Malhar Rao also lost a great many people, and some of his best officers, amongst them Namo Pindara, Latell Khán, and Hussen Khán, the two Pattan Jamedars. Kanojí, on this occasion, made Monsieur John a present of a piece of jewellery which he always wore about his neck, called hár.

After this great defeat, Govind Punt Mama with his whole force retreated to the further end of the village Ardasser, and remained there waiting it was supposed for orders from Baroda.

No sooner had this victory been gained by Malhar Rao, than, instead of being grateful to Kanojí for his great exertion in favour of his cause, he began to be suspicious and afraid of him; and Pana Bacha, and Becher Jattí, who did not like Kanojí, took this opportunity of poisoning Malhar Rao's mind against Kanojí, by saying all they could to his prejudice, inspiring into the mind of Malhar Rao, that he was a bad man, though a great warrior, and that from his late success, all the troops had a great opinion of him, and that they would not be surprised if one day or other, with the assistance of these very troops, he made himself master of Khurru. This, by degrees, operated so strongly on Malhar Rao's mind, that he was afraid of Kanojí, but did not know how to get rid of him; these people finding that Malhar Rao hesitated sending Kanojí away, forged a letter to Govind Punt Mama, as if it had been written by Kanojí, giving an account of the strength of the fort of Khurru, and of Malhar Rao, and advising him to come on, and that he would contrive to keep one of the gates open for him, and that he would take care that Malhar Rao's troops should make no resistance.

This letter was intercepted and presented to Malhar Rao, upon which he gave full credit to every thing that was said to him against Kanojí; as the latter was at this time in the fort of Khurru, without any more assistance than that of his domestic servants and a few sepoys, a plan was laid by Malhar Rao at the suggestion of his friends and associates, to seize and put Kanojí to death.

Kanojí hearing of this, immediately wrote to his people to be upon their guard, and to be in readiness to obey such orders as he might send; but being in the fort, and not able to avail himself of their assistance, he fled from the house where he lived, to the house of his security, Bowanbhái, the brother of Malhar Rao, and remained there.

Malhar Rao insisted upon his being given up, which Bowanbhái refused, saying, that as long as his security lasted, he would not give him up; he then insisted upon his turning him out of the fort, which Bowanbhái readily agreed to do, on the terms of the security-bond, which were, that in the event of any dispute happening between them, he was obliged to see all their accounts settled and paid, and conduct him safe, with all his troops and baggage, to any place ten koss distant from Khurru.



Some disputes arose between Malhar Rao and Kanojí, concerning the payment of the latter's old and new levies, which was however settled in the best possible way. In the course of the settlement of these accounts and differences, some disagreeable words passed between Kanojí and Malhar Rao, and the former told the latter, that he would at this time close all accounts with him, but that if he ever succeeded to the masnad of Baroda, or got the means of having a force at his command, the first thing he would do, would be to reduce Khurree, and that if he caught him alive, he would cut him to pieces; and saying so, he came out of the fort, accompanied by Bowanbhái and his troops, and went to Kampurah, where he was received by Bhugat Sing, the Takúr of that place, who entertained him and all his troops for four days. On the fifth he left that place, and avoiding his father's territories, went to Veremgaung; all the petty Princes, Takúrs, and Rájás, in the way as he passed, made him presents of money, according to their means. The Dessoy, and other people at Veremgaung, made him also presents, and entertained him for the few days he remained there.

At this place he sold all his jewels, and with some money he had, he managed to pay his people, and discharged them all, except a few choice sepoys, and about two hundred of his best horse.

From Veremgaung he went to Sumá Razaupúr, where he remained a few days, and thence he went to a place called Dantah, till he obtained the permission of Holkar and Scindiah's people to enter Malwa with security to his person; he went direct from thence to Ougein; as he went from village to village he was entertained on account of the Sírkár, and people made him presents, which afforded him the means of living and defraying the expense of his followers. From Ougein, he passed by the way of Dhar, the country of one of his relations called Ponvar, and came to the hills of Raz Pimpla, on the Movass part of it, where he remained.

The people at Baroda some time after, having received intelligence of this, despatched Narú Serput, and Sidy Amber; (this last was the Chella of Salle Chillaby, at Surat; since leaving his master, he had become an intriguing officer, and was employed in the service of the Gaikwár;) men on whom Kanojí placed some reliance; they went there, saw him, and used every argument in their power to persuade him to return to Baroda, in which case they promised him that his father would receive and use him well, and their interest should be used with his father to give him some employment. Kanojí, too, was tired, and all his means of living and entertaining

troops any longer were exhausted; rather therefore than perish in the jungles of Raz Pimpla, he determined to return, and accordingly, accompanied these two men, and came to Baroda; but no sooner had he arrived there, than he was carried to a large house upon the banks of the Sirsagar Tank, and confined there under a strong guard.

When Malhar Rao Gaikwar wrote, inviting the Nabob Neyeff Khan, or otherwise Ismael Beg, with twenty thousand Pattans, he had in view, after the defence of Khurru, to attack and destroy Govind Rao Gaikwar's force, and then, joining his and Kanoji's force to the expected reinforcement, to annoy, plunder, and take all the territories of his cousin Govind Rao, and to reduce Baroda if possible: he had also in view the reducing of all the petty Princes, Rájás, and Takúrs, and making them tributary to him. He meant to keep Baroda and the best of the territories under it to himself, and to place Kanoji at Pattan, and Ismael Beg at Pallanpore; the latter was to share one half of all reduced countries, and Malhar Rao was to keep for himself the other half.

.. He expected Ismael Beg would, from the letter requesting his assistance, reach him previous to the approach of Govind Rao's force, and often regretted his not having arrived, or even written to him acknowledging the receipt of his letter; while in this state of suspense respecting the expected assistance, Govind Rao's force arrived, and he was fortunate enough to beat them twice; immediately after the second action at Kúndal, he received a letter from Ismael Beg, saying he was ready to come with twenty thousand choice Pattans, but that they would not leave their country without some money in advance. Malhar Rao instantly wrote to him that he might set out for Pallanpore, where he would meet with Sheikh Abúd Jamedar, who would be despatched in a day or two with money, and that he would meet with provision and other supplies at every stage; he accordingly despatched Sheikh Abúd Jamedar the very next day, with money and credit to the amount of a lak and sixty thousand rupees.

After the despatch of Sheikh Abúd to await the arrival of Ismael Beg at Pallanpore, Govind Punt Mama was determined to attack Malhar Rao's force and the fort of Khurru again, which he did, and was again completely defeated, as stated in the account of the action already given; being thus defeated the third time, he retreated with his whole army to the furthest end of the village, and took post there, and it was supposed he wrote to Baroda for fresh orders and reinforcements.

Meanwhile intelligence arriving from Bessanaghar, that Ismael Beg, from Joudpúr, was advancing quickly with some Pattans towards Pallanpore, Govind Punt Mama, supposing this was the reinforcement expected by Malhar Rao, left his army at Ardasser, took ten thousand horse and foot with him, and went to Bessanaghar with the view of intercepting them as they passed that place. But hearing that the reinforcement consisted of twenty thousand choice Pattans, he remained at Bessanaghar, informed the government of Baroda, and requested their assistance.

Ismael Beg arrived at Pallanpore, received the money and the credit, divided the same amongst the troops, and wrote to Malhar Rao, that he required more money and a large supply of provision and other necessaries, as his people from being in want of money and provision were sick and mutinous, and were deserting fast. Malhar Rao at this time had beaten Govind Rao's force three different times; the fear which he had on its approach was all over, both his treasury and credit were exhausted, and he had no immediate means of raising either money or credit. He therefore wrote to Ismael Beg, that he was endeavouring to raise the means of sending him some money and provision, but that in the mean time he might send a party of horse with direction to take and plunder Seidpúr, that it was a large fertile and rich country, and would afford him plenty of money and provision for all his army. Ismael Beg took the advice, and went there accordingly with a detachment of five thousand horse, and as he approached near the place, a Brahman, an old inhabitant of Seidpúr, after taking a full view of his party, went to Bessanaghar, reported the same to Govind Punt Mama, and prevailed upon him to attack them by surprise, promising, at the same time, to get all the country people and the Kúlies to join him. Trusting to the Brahman's information, and his influence in the country, Govind Punt resolved to follow his advice, and marched accordingly; on coming near, Neyeff Khan sent to inquire who they were, and was given to understand they were Malhar Rao's troops, coming from Khurry with money and provision, which prevented his collecting his small force, or taking any steps for resisting his enemy. He was shortly after taken by surprise, and his camp plundered and destroyed. Retreating with about one thousand horse and followers, accompanied by his friend Sheikh Abúd, he reached Pallanpore, whence he went with all his people to Batty, and from thence to his own country.

The account of this great success having been received at Baroda, Govind Punt Mama was ordered to return to Khurry, and to enden-

your to take it, and all the officers of the Baroda force were directed to use every exertion in their power to enable Govind Punt Mama to comply with the wish of government. On his arrival, operations again commenced, but before they came to anything serious, Malhar Rao, sensible of the loss of Kanoji, and finding that the hopes of assistance from Hindostan had all vanished, and that his own force alone was not able to contend with that of Govind Rao Gaikwár, resolved upon making peace.

Negotiations were opened for that purpose, and Shahamut Khan, Kassim Khan, and Khannaladin Khan, were deputed to treat on the part of Malhar Rao with Govind Punt Mama, but nothing decisive or final was concluded. Husson Borah was then employed. He very wisely went to Govind Punt Mama's camp, and told him that as he was going to Baroda to negotiate a peace with Govind Rao Gaikwár, he (Govind Punt Mama) should move with his army to Minda Adulhage, and remain there until his (Borah's) return, and that Malhar Rao should remain quiet in his fort; this was accordingly agreed upon.

Hussonbhái Borah then went to Baroda, saw Govind Rao Gaikwár and Raoha, and was so successful, that on his third meeting he concluded the peace, on the following conditions:—

1st. That Malhar Rao should remain in quiet possession of Khurri, Kaperwange, and Deogaum.

2nd. That Malhar Rao should instantly pay to Govind Rao fifty thousand rupees, and five laks of rupees to the Sirkar, as follows: namely, two laks and fifty thousand rupees in a month or six weeks from the date of the treaty, and the remaining two laks and a half in two years, by equal instalments of one lak and twenty-five thousand rupees a year.

3rd. To pay regularly after the date of the treaty every year, one lak and fifteen thousand rupees, as it was settled by Fattch Sing.

4th. That as soon after the rains as possible, Malhar Rao should come to Baroda to pay his respects to Govind Rao Gaikwár. Scid Múlakella, Manor Punt Nana, Vajnauth Pandit, and Vakatsawset, and several other persons were the guarantees of the said treaty or peace, as well as of the due performance of its several articles.

As soon as the treaty was made, signed, and ratified, which was in May or June, 1794, the troops were all ordered back to Baroda; and Malhar Rao, after the dassarah in the month of October following, went to Baroda and paid his respects to his cousin, Govind Rao Gaikwár. He was well received and entertained agreeably to his

rank, and all the men, women and children of the family were happy to see him. Govind Rao invited him to stay a little longer, but he, suspecting some treachery, was not happy till they allowed him to return to Khurry, nor till he was many miles on his way thither.

Malhar Rao continued very friendly and peaceably till the year 1799, when his mother, Rajasbái, died, and about six months after, his own wife, the mother of Kanda Rao, died. After the death of these two persons, Malhar Rao altered his conduct again, took the administration of the affairs at Khurry from Husson Borah and Christna Rao, and gave it to Panna Bacha and Becher Jattí, and at the instigation of these two men, both Husson Borah and Christna Rao were confined, and he began his old behaviour again; but with the government of Baroda he continued very friendly, and paid his Peishkush regularly.

After the conclusion of the peace above-mentioned, Raoba went to Puna on the concerns of the government, and on his return from thence in the year 1797, he was the means of procuring for Aba Silokar the mamlet or revenue administration of the Peishwa's share of Ahmedabad, and brought Silokar with him; this man behaved remarkably well one year or thereabout, but afterwards he began annoying the Gaikwár and his country in such a manner, that Govind Rao was obliged to go to war with him, which commenced about the middle of the year 1799; at this time Malhar Rao had made over the management of Khurry to his son Kanda Rao, in whose name all sanuds and other papers were made, and Malhar Rao remained simply with the administration of the revenue and government.

Malhar Rao's motive for putting his son upon the masnad of Khurry, notwithstanding the ill-will he bore him, was, first because he was his son, and also because his father, Kanda Rao, had put him (Malhar Rao) upon the masnad of Khurry at the age of sixteen, and he himself was always out in the parganah, and in command of his small body of troops, and went once a year on Mullukguery collection. Malhar Rao wished to follow the same plan, and young Kanda Rao had no sooner attained the age of sixteen, than he put him upon the masnad, and kept himself disengaged to manage the revenue business, and to command his troops; besides this he had another reason, which was the disturbances at Baroda, for had Govind Rao Gaikwár put any of his sons on the masnad during his life, so many changes and revolutions would not have taken place; this he wished to avoid, and as the masnad of Khurry, and all the country attached to it, being hereditary estate, would have ultimately

fallen to Kanda Rao, he chose to see this business properly settled in his life-time. But though the affairs of Khurri were managed in Kanda Rao's name, yet he was not regularly put upon the gaddi till after the death of Govind Rao, in the latter end of October, or beginning of November, 1800. On this occasion all the guns of the fort and army fired; notice was given to all the neighbouring chieftains, and all the officers of government and army, together with the Patels Dessoys, and the merchants came and made him the congratulatory salam and nazar.

When Raoba went against Ahmedabad, Govind Rao made a requisition, requesting Malhar Rao to aid and assist his expedition with such troops as he could spare, on which occasion two Páguís were sent, one of Kanda Rao, and the other of Malhar Rao, with Kanda Rao's Zarí Patká, and they remained there until Silokar was seized, and Govind Rao's force left Ahmedabad for Baroda.

However bad the conduct of Malhar Rao might have been in other cases, his whole deportment with respect to the Baroda government till this time, was uniform and proper, although he hated Raoba and his caste.

While Govind Rao's force was contending with Silokar at Ahmedabad, he was taken ill; from day to day he grew worse, and soon after he heard of Raoba's success in reducing the fort of Ahmedabad, and taking Silokar a prisoner, he wrote to him to return with all possible haste, but before Raoba entered the town, Govind Rao was no more.

It is said that Govind Rao, a few minutes before his death, called Kanojí three or four times, and finding he was not there, said, "Why don't you send for Kaniah;" (the name by which he used to call him.) Mungal and Sanval Pareks, who were present, said he was coming, and they went down below where Anand Rao was, and brought him; when Govind Rao said, "Why have you brought Anaba; where is Kaniah?" they replied, "He is coming, but Anaba is here, you should place him in the masnad, and deliver him the sika and katar." He was then at the point of death, but was able to say, "Very well," before he died. Anaba was accordingly proclaimed the rájá of Gujarat, and next morning the remains of Govind Rao were burnt according to custom.

On the seventh day after the death of Govind Rao Gaikwar, Kanojí, confederating with some of the Arab Jamedars, took an Arab dress, and bribing the guards as he went along, found his way to the palace; and between eight and nine o'clock at night he went up where his brother was sitting, made his salam, and stood before him.

Anand Rao looked at him with astonishment, and asked him, "What, Kaniah, are you come?" he answered, "Yes." "Well," said Anand Rao, "sit down." No sooner was he seated, than Anand Rao sent for the Sika and Katar, and said "Take this." Kanojî wanted nothing else, he received them with pleasure, and immediately gave orders to secure the gates, and the next morning made all his arrangements and commenced his government. Raoba was at this time at his house in Ras Purah; he kept him there taking no notice of him, and appointed his brother Babajî his karbary, and began calling every body to account, fining some and confining others, which disgusted every body and put them upon their guard, to devise means to overthrow him.

Kanojî, immediately on his assuming the masnad of Baroda, wrote to Malhar Rao, putting him in mind of his treatment at Khurru, the manner in which his account was settled, the arrears of Peishkush since he last paid it to his father Govind Rao, and saying that if he did not satisfy all these demands, he would send a force to reduce Khurru and bring him to Baroda, where he would cut him to pieces, according to the promise he made on leaving Khurru.

This message seriously alarmed Malhar Rao, as he knew Kanojî was capable of executing his threat. He directly wrote to Raoba, expressing his concern at Kanojî having assumed the masnad and government of Baroda in the place of Anand Rao, who was entitled to it, and that he was surprised that a faithful servant like him could suffer it without taking some steps to prevent it, and to put Anand Rao upon the masnad, and that if any assistance was required he would give all in his power.

This was not all, but apprehensive of his letters being intercepted, he sent a Vakîl of his to be at Baroda, to communicate to him every event which took place, and inspire in the mind of Raoba and other officers of the former government, the necessity of dispossessing Kanojî of the masnad, and placing Anand Rao upon it as the rightful heir, being Govind Rao Gaikwâr's eldest and legitimate son.

Had Kanojî conducted himself with moderation, and endeavoured to gain the good-will of those who had always been about his father, and those who were in his confidence, particularly the two Banians, Mungal and Sanval Pareks, who were always considered as the support of government, and had called in Raoba, and conferred the administration upon him, Anand Rao would have remained where he was, and Kanojî would have been on the masnad till this day; but he never ceased tyrannically seizing upon innocent people, putting them in irons, and fining them large sums of money; this gave a general

disgust, and caused such a terror in the country, that no one thought himself or his property safe while this man was on the masnad, and people began to join and confederate together to devise a plan for seizing and confining him.

Malhar Rao also was continually fortuning Raoba by his Vakíl, and by letters, offering assistance if necessary. His first view was to prevent Kanojí sending a force against Khurree, which he certainly would have done if he had continued on the masnad of Baroda. His next view was, if Raoba succeeded, to get Nariad back, and the Peishkush remitted, as the one was taken, and the other established by an arbitrary act of Fattch Sing, merely because his father, Kanda Rao, gave shelter to his nephew, Govind Rao Gaikwár, and afterwards fitted out an armament, and went to Govind Rao's assistance against Fattch Sing; his ultimate view was, by Anand Rao being placed on the masnad, to become one day or other entitled to the masnad of Baroda, either on failure of his having a son, and young Fattch Sing dying during his minority, or as Anand Rao was a man of weak intellect, to excite through some quarrels the women (who were not fond of the then administration) when he would perhaps be able to step in, to look after the interest of his foolish relative, and become master of the country.

It is supposed that Raoba had made, through his vakíl, some kind of promise to induce him to hope that he would, if he succeeded, restore Nariad, and remit the Peishkush.

Kanojí reigned four months, at the end of which he was seized, and confined in the fort of Kanapúr. Anand Rao was put upon the masnad, and Raoba and all his friends and relations resumed their different offices, as in the time of the late Govind Rao, except Mungál Pareks, who would no longer have the management of the domestic administration.

When Malhar Rao received intelligence of Raoba's success in confining Kanojí, and putting Anand Rao upon the masnad, he was apparently greatly rejoiced; he fired a salute from all the guns in the fort of Khurree, and wrote to Raoba, congratulating him on so happy an event, and praised Raoba for his faithful attachment to Govind Rao's family. Matters afterwards went on very quietly, and Malhar Rao, in full confidence that Raoba would restore Nariad to him, remit the Peishkush, and make some further compensation, instructed his vakíl to speak to him concerning the same; this he did, but Raoba avoided giving any answer till he had made all his arrangements for the safety of the government and the country.

Kanojí's confinement took place about the month of November,



1800, and until the month of March, 1801, or after the termination of the Húli festival, Raoba gave no answer respecting the restoration of Nariad; on the contrary, he expressed his indignation at Malhar Rao's unjust pretensions, and hopes of Nariad being restored, and said that Raoba, as a karbary or dewan, could not take upon himself to remit the Peishkush, which was established by Fattch Sing so long ago, and desired his vakíl, Gangadar Punt, to write to him, that it was necessary to pay the Peishkush of three years due to the government of Baroda.

Malhar Rao's vakíl did so, but at the same time wrote to him that Anand Rao was a man of weak intellects, and not fit to be upon the masnad, and that the whole government was managed by the Purvoes, (meaning Raoba and all his relations,) who did not mind anything but their pleasure, and their own interests, to the ruin of the state and the country; that Kanojí was not entitled to the government, being born of a Rajput woman, that Anand Rao was a fool, and unfit for the masnad; and that Fattch Sing was at Punah, and that it was a matter of doubt whether the Peishwa would let him return, besides that he was young and unfit for government; he concluded with recommending his levying new troops, and taking possession of Baroda at once.

Malhar Rao, finding that all hopes of Raoba's complying with his wishes were gone, and receiving from his vakíl a regular account of every transaction which passed at Baroda, with every information regarding the state of the force, and how much the whole government was at the mercy of the five or six Arab Jamedars and Banians, began levying troops with the view of laying the country waste, and taking Baroda if possible. Gangabái, the widow of Damají, and the mother of Manají, who invited Kanojí, also wrote Malhar Rao a letter in the name of Kanda Rao, as he was then on the masnad, saying that the Purvoes had confined Kanojí, and having placed a fool upon the masnad, had made themselves masters of the country; that all the Gaikwár's family were starving, and that they were surprised that he, being one of the Gaikwárs, did not think of levying troops or coming to their assistance; and that if he had any regard to the name of Gaikwár, he should lose no time in coming to Baroda, take the administration from the hands of the Purvoes, and make arrangements for the preservation of the Gaikwár's name and state. Upon this he began augmenting his levy with vigour, and determined to make war the second time, and pay himself by becoming the Rájá of Gujarat.

While this sort of correspondence was going on between Malhar

Rao and his vakíl, the latter continually complaining to Raoba that his master gave no answer respecting the payment of the Peishkush, and Raoba finding no overture from Malhar Rao for liquidating this old account, and that on the contrary he was vigorously raising troops, and that his vakíl, Gangadar Punt, under the plea of going to perform some religious ceremonies at Chandor Karnally, had gone to Khurree; he prevailed upon those people who had guaranteed the treaty of peace in 1794, and been security for its performance, to go to Khurree, and demand from Malhar Rao the arrears of the Peishkush, and his reason for raising troops. Seid Múlakella, Manor Punt Nana, Vajnanth Pandit, Vakatsawseth, and several other persons, went to Khurree, and had an interview with Malhar Rao; but all the reply they had was, that he was short of cash, and that the troops he was raising were with the view of rooting out the Kúlies from the country; they observed to him that they feared such an answer would not be deemed satisfactory by the Darbar at Baroda, upon which he dismissed them under a promise of giving them a more satisfactory one the next day; but before day-break a guard of Pattans was put on each of them, and it was signified to them that if they did not go back to the place whence they came, he would put them all in close confinement. Thus circumstanced, they had no alternative, but to return to Baroda. This happened about the latter end of October, 1801. At this time Malhar Rao had a force of about fifteen thousand horse and foot; and no sooner were the above people returned, than he quitted Khurree, leaving a sufficient garrison there, went to Bessanaghar, and took that place early in November. Makúnd Rao about this time arrived at Khurree with three or four hundred troops; Sidy Amber, who was at Surat, also came to Khurree by the way of Ballassonor; Semí Rajanpúr arrived with ten Bracks of Scindiah's Pattans and Dekkani Sepoys; and Sevaram Jagadiss, otherwise Sevaram Gardy, whom Malhar Rao had, by dint of money and promises, brought over to his interest, instead of going to join the army of Babají Appají, which was at Garwell, about ten koss from Ahmedabad, went with all his force to Khurree, and joined Malhar Rao, in consequence of which Babají was obliged to leave his station and take shelter at Kambay, until he received reinforcements from Baroda.

Malhar Rao kept himself quiet at Kalol, assembling all the troops he could, till he had nearly forty thousand horse and foot, including Kúlies, &c. All his best troops were stationed at Kalol; the Pendarís and Kúlies were employed in annoying and plundering

Govind Rao Gaikwár's territories, and in the mean time he was corresponding both with Kanojí and Anand Rao, and with several women of the Gaikwár family at Baroda; to the former he gave out that he was fighting to release him from his situation; for although he had when in power written a threatening letter to him, still he was one of the Gaikwárs, and more fit for the charge of government than the fool whom the Purvoes, with the view of keeping the government and the country amongst themselves, had put upon the masnad; to the latter he said that he was sorry to observe him more like a state prisoner than a master, and that he was levying troops with the view of coming to Baroda, to chastise and confine all the Purvoes, release him from that sort of treatment, and make the necessary arrangements for the preservation of the country, as well as of his uncle Damají's family. Anand Rao wrote him for answer, that he would be happy to see him, as the Brahmans, as he always called Raoba and other officers of government, had treated him like a fool, and that they were no longer under his authority and control, and therefore the sooner he came and made his arrangements for the good of the country the better. This letter was shown to Husson Borah, in the presence of Kanda Rao, Jevají Bassarah, Ragojí, and others, when he went to Khurree by Major Walker's desire to obtain the release of Captain Williams and Sanderjí.

While this sort of correspondence was going on between Malhar Rao, Kanojí, Anund Rao, and the women, the former employed a vast number of intriguing people to disunite the Arabs, and bring them over to his interest; this measure was not without success, as some of the Jamedars had already promised to join him, and likewise some of the Pagahs and Selledars, except Mír Khamaladin Khan, whose people were above listening to any proposals of the kind. Malhar Rao's intention was to conquer all the Gaikwár's territories, destroy the Purvoes, and take Baroda, not for Kanojí or for Anand Rao, but for himself, the former not being entitled to reign from his not being born of a Dekkani woman, the latter because he was a fool and incapable of being trusted with the government; and that he, being the nephew of Damají, had the best right to it. He therefore determined to put his plan into execution, and had taken his measures, and made his preparations accordingly.

Raoba, aware of this, and knowing that some of the Banians, and most of the Arab Jamedars, and of the Pagahs and Sillidars, were favourably inclined towards Malhar Rao, had no alternative but to solicit the aid of the English to reduce Khurree, and take Malhar

Rao. It was only by their assistance that he could hope to save himself, family, and indeed the whole body of Purvoes, from falling into the hands of their arbitrary and cruel enemy, who would not spare them.

Raoba accordingly dispatched Mir Khamaladin Khan and Gopal Rao to the Governor at Bombay. In consequence of some previous correspondence, the Governor had sent Major Walker, who had several conferences with Raoba, and as report says, one or two meetings with the Rájá, Anand Rao, who, of course, would act whichever way the Purvoes desired, and who on receipt of a present, would put his seal to any paper whatsoever written by his karkaries. What report the major sent to Bombay was not known, but soon after, the Governor, Mir Khamaladin Khan, and Gopal Rao, went to Surat, and the English troops began to assemble at Kambay. As soon as the Governor had made his own arrangements, he left Surat and went to Kambay, to see the plan carried into effect, as also, it is supposed, with the view of seeing Raoba, who, soon after the Governor's arrival at Kambay, went there to see him.

The troops marched from Kambay, and came by Ahmedabad to Adullhage, and joined Babaji's army, which was lying there, after having been beaten and repulsed several times by Malhar Rao's force.

Major Walker's wish, one should imagine, must have been to effect an accommodation between Malhar Rao and the Baroda government, and to reconcile them to each other, for a negociation to that effect was opened almost from the time he joined; but Malhar Rao obstinately resisted every proposal, at the suggestions and advice of Becher Jattí, Pana Bacha, and several other people in his confidence, and with whom he conferred; he also proposed insolent terms, and behaved in so ridiculous a manner, that Major Walker was obliged to continue his march, and proceed to a place called Shertah, where he halted in a large field between that and a village called Syed, about three koss from Kalol.

At this place Malhar Rao had an interview with Major Walker. The particulars of the conference between them were not known, but from reports then prevailing, it was understood that Malhar Rao was to go to Kambay with five or six hundred men, accompanied by Major Walker's people, in order to settle all differences with the Governor, who was there when this arrangement was completed. Malhar Rao after making and receiving presents, took leave of the major and went to Kalol, where he was to have remained; but on

his arrival he forgot all he had settled at Shertah, and with the advice of his associates he went from Kalol directly to Khurry.

Major Walker and Babaji, finding Malhar Rao was not at Kalol as agreed upon, marched with their respective forces to Badassen, about two koss from Khurry: on their arrival there, Sunderji and Captain Williams went into the fort, where Malhar Rao detained them, and attacked Major Walker, who was obliged to retire and remain under intrenchment at Badassen.

While in this situation, Husson Borah and Vacatsawset went to Khurry to obtain the release of Sunderji and Captain Williams. Vacatsawset returned; but Husson Borah remained with Sunderji and Captain Williams, treating with Malhar Rao respecting them; in the mean time, the reinforcement from Bombay arrived, attacked and took the outward battery, and then the fort.

Previous to the English taking the fort of Khurry, Malhar Rao had gone to the English army, still in hopes of making some arrangements; but he left orders to his son, Kanda Rao, and his family, to leave the place and go to Drangedraw in Kattiwar, where they accordingly went, with such baggage and necessaries as could be carried away.

Malhar Rao came to Kambay, where the Governor prevailed upon Raoba to give him a Jaghir; Nariad was accordingly given him, where he remained from June till December, when he made his escape, and went to Limri, thence to a place called Morby, and directed his son and family to join him there. At this place he remained one month, and went to Maliah, a village in Kattiwar, where, from what cause or reason nobody knows, he put his son Kanda Rao in confinement under the guard of Captain Joaquim, who had joined him at Morby; he afterwards went to Shapur, a village of the Parganah of Bhuj. At this place he remained quiet for about four or five months; he then began levying troops, and no sooner was he able to muster about four thousand horse and foot, than, leaving his women there under the care of Hanmont Rao Gaikwar, and taking Kanda Rao with him, he came to Sailah, by the way of Kua; in this district he burnt and destroyed about five villages. While he was lying there with his small force, the Dessoy of Patti solicited his assistance to oppose the force of Babaji, which was coming to that place on his Mullukguery collection. What answer Malhar Rao gave him was not known, but it is supposed he declined for want of a sufficient force and money. His intention was to go round the country to

collect troops and money; he accordingly went from Sailah to Púrbander, Mangrore, Junagur, and other places in that direction, collecting money and troops; and after having collected near twelve thousand horse and foot, he returned to Kattiwar, and came to Sailah again, whence he sent a small party to Dollerah to see who was there; but Babaji's army coming to Warwan at the same time, obliged him to move and go towards the Parganah of Babareah, where, a little before he was attacked by Babaji's troops, Kanda Rao was liberated from confinement.

In this attack he lost a great many of his horse and foot. Want of money and provision, and the apprehension of being taken by Babaji, caused many to desert, particularly about one thousand Scindians, and almost all the Arabs whom he had entertained at Junagur. Malhar Rao, with about two thousand men and horse, including followers, was obliged to fly to Tallajah and thence to Baunagar, where the Rájá of that place received and gave him some money, some say five thousand, others say six thousand rupees, to defray his expenses; but as he could no longer remain there, nor go to any other place by land, all his people having left him, the Rájá and his dewan got him a boat, to go to Púrbander by water. On this vessel, Malhar Rao, his son Kanda Rao, Jevaji Bussarah, Rawji, and Gungather Pandit embarked with the view of landing at Púrbander, or at Mandavi, and accordingly dropped down the river, but before the boat was out of the river, the Rájá and his dewan, from what reason it was not known, took the opportunity of the Surat convoy coming to Gogo to frighten Malhar Rao by saying, that the English government had sent that vessel to apprehend him. This made him return and land at Baunagar again, and as Babaji was in the neighbourhood at this time, the Rájá declined giving him any shelter, but gave Jevaji Bussarah, Rawji, and Gungather Pandit, every assistance in his power, and escorted them safe to Dangadrah that very night; he then sent Malhar Rao and his son to the hills of Pally Tanah, where, after six days they were discovered and seized by a party of Katty, employed by Babaji for that purpose, and were immediately delivered up to Babaji, in his camp, at a place called Dary.

At this place the father and son remained a fortnight under a guard, suffering from want of food, clothes, and bedding, Kanda Rao, who was very unwell when taken by the Kattys at the hills of Pally Tanah, became seriously ill, and Malhar Rao apprehensive of fatal consequences, proposed to Babaji to send him to Gangabái at Baroda. Babaji consented to it, but Kanda

Rao declined, saying that if they were to be treated in that manner, he would rather stay with his father, and die with him ; he afterwards got better, when he and his father were sent to Ahmedabad under a strong guard.

On their arrival at this place, Malbá, who was acting there under Babají, put them in close confinement in a dirty old ruinous house under ten sentries, and allowed them two seers of flour each per day, a quarter seer of ghee, and two pice-worth of vegetables, but before this small quantity of coarse and mean provision reached them, the best part of it was eaten by the sepoy employed to bring it.

In this situation they remained for eight or ten days, when they were conducted to a room, the doors and windows of which were all filled up with chunam and bricks, without any opening for the circulation of air, and in which there was only one small opening to admit the provisions which were sent every day. In this room they were obliged to dress their victuals, sit, sleep and perform all the other functions of nature.

Some days after two pair of heavy irons were brought, one was put on Malhar Rao, and the other they wished to put on Kanda Rao, when some respectable people assembled and said that was not just, because, however deserving Malhar Rao might have been of such treatment, Kanda Rao was innocent, and that it was hard he should undergo such treatment, which made Malbá decline putting him in irons.

No sooner was Malhar Rao put in irons than he declined receiving the provisions which they sent him, because with them on he could not dress his victuals ; upon which they agreed to take off the irons just about dinner-time, and put them on again ; but a few days afterwards they did not care whether he dressed his victuals or not, and whether he ate or not, and declined taking off his irons. After this, Malhar Rao, for upwards of six months, lived upon four pice-worth of milk and a little sugar, and Kanda Rao upon two seers of wheat or badjerí flour, a little ghee, and two pice of vegetables ; and all the time they were thus confined, they were not allowed to change their clothes, (indeed they were allowed none to enable them to change,) wash their bodies, nor to shave themselves, or cut their nails.

In this situation they were brought to Baroda, and sent to a garden called Mastú Bagh, where they had nothing to eat, or sleep on, so that the two days they remained there they were obliged to sleep on the ground, and Malhar Rao being in irons, could scarcely move from the place where he was put by the Palankin Kúlies, who brought them from Ahmedabad.

While in Mastú Bagh, Anand Rao Gaikwár paid Malhar Rao a visit there; he entered the garden upon a tatú, with four or five khidmatgars, and came to the place where Malhar Rao was; he then embraced him; what passed between them nobody knows. Kanda Rao was at some distance, and as Anand Rao never asked after him, he kept himself where he was. Soon after he came, Husson Borah made his appearance, and while they were engaged in conversation, Major Urquhart came, and with great difficulty carried Anand Rao to Major Walker.

A few minutes after he was gone Mr. de Souza came and sat for about an hour, spoke both to Malhar Rao and Kanda Rao, and offered them his services at Broach, or on the road to that place.

The next day they left Baroda and went to Meyam Gam, and thence to Kabertan, a village of the Broach Parganah, where the officer, commanding the English guard which accompanied them, ordered the irons to be taken off.

On their arrival at Broach, they were carried to the Darbar-house in the fort, where they were treated with great attention, and provided with every thing they could wish for.

They left Broach late in the season, and were obliged to put back and proceed over-land, and since their arrival at Bombay, they have been well attended to, and have every reason to be satisfied with the treatment they have met with from the English government.

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THE succinctness of the conclusion of this narrative, is too characteristic of the self-denying demeanour which so strongly marked the whole character of the late Mr. Duncan, to admit of a doubt that it was dictated by him. It is gratifying to be able to add, on the authority of a friend who was at the time here alluded to on the spot, that Malhar Rao received every kindness from the Bombay government, that he was permitted to be at large on his parole, and that he visited the principal gentlemen at the Presidency, to whom he took every opportunity of expressing his sense of the liberal treatment he received from the government, and in particular of the kind and humane attention of the Governor, Mr. Duncan.

An anecdote with which the Editor has been favoured by the friend above alluded to, will more fully illustrate not only the interest that was taken by Mr. Duncan in everything that concerned Malhar Rao, but also the peculiar character of Malhar Rao himself.



A piece of ground on Malabar-hill, on which there was a house and garden, and a Hindú pagoda, had been sequestered and sold by the sheriff, the purchaser being an opulent and highly respectable Parsí merchant.

The Hindús resident at Bombay, notwithstanding the transfer of the property, claimed a right to the pagoda, as a place of religious worship, which had been long frequented by their caste. The claim, as a matter of right, was objected to, and it became a subject of tedious and expensive litigation in the Court at Bombay, of which Sir James Mackintosh was then Recorder.

Malhar Rao put himself at the head of the Hindú claimants, and the suit was carried on in his name, at the expense of the Bombay Government, who instructed their law officers to prosecute it. Malhar Rao had a strong personal feeling in the matter, and was constant in his attendance in Court, whenever the cause was likely to be discussed. The action, however, was defended with much spirit, and Malhar Rao, not accustomed to the formality of legal proceedings, became impatient at the "law's delay," which was to him quite unaccountable, nor could he ascertain with any certainty, when a decision was likely to be obtained.

He consequently thought it might be better terminated by the parties litigant, without troubling the Court further, and he formally proposed to his Parsí antagonist in the suit, that they two should decide the matter by personal combat. "I have a sword," said Malhar Rao, "you can get another, let us meet and fight for it, and whichever proves victorious, will of course be allowed to keep the pagoda." We need not say, that this mode of "joining issue," however consonant to Malhar Rao's principles and previous practice, was declined by the Parsí, who would indeed have stood but a poor chance in a personal encounter with such an antagonist.

Malhar Rao was in person of small size and stature, remarkably active, with a keen penetrating eye, and very intelligent countenance. He never appeared without a sword in his hand.—ED.

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